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OCA 86-2348
14 July 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR: Executive Director
FROM: Dave Grie [redacted]
SUBJECT: Breakfast with Representatives McEwen
and Livingston

STAT

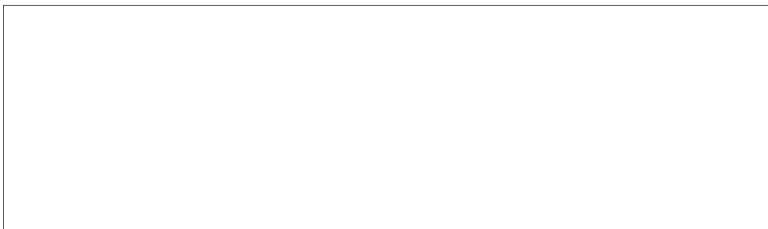
You are scheduled to host breakfast on Wednesday, 16 July at 8:00 a.m. in the DCI Dining Room for Representatives Bob McEwen and Bob Livingston. Also included in the breakfast are Dick Kerr, Bill Donnelly, Evan Hineman, [redacted] Dan Childs and myself.

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Both Reps. McEwen and Livingston are junior Republican members of HPSCI. Livingston is also a crossover member on the Defense Subcommittee of House Appropriations.

Proposed talking points and biographic information are attached.

Attachments



STAT

Ohio - 6th District

6 Bob McEwen (R)

Of Hillsboro — Elected 1980

Born: Jan. 12, 1950, Hillsboro, Ohio.
Education: U. of Miami (Fla.), B.B.A. 1972; graduate work, Ohio State U. College of Law, 1973-74.
Occupation: Real estate developer.
Family: Wife, Elizabeth Boebinger; four children.
Religion: Protestant.
Political Career: Ohio House, 1975-81.
Capitol Office: 329 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-5705.



In Washington: Though McEwen is an enthusiastic participant in the "Reagan Revolution" — he rarely opposes the president on any important issue — there is another cause dearer to his heart. That cause is bringing public works projects to southern Ohio.

McEwen headed straight for the Public Works Committee when he came to Congress in 1983, and there he emulates the example of his predecessor in the 6th, GOP Rep. William H. Harsha, a gifted player of pork-barrel politics. Before McEwen started his career in public office, he worked as an aide to Harsha, who served eight years as ranking Republican on Public Works until he retired in 1981.

At a time when budget cutbacks are delaying or eliminating many federally funded projects across the country, McEwen has employed his congenial personal style to lobby successfully for continued funding of numerous projects in his district.

Bridges, dams, floodwalls and navigation locks are McEwen favorites — the Ohio River forms the southern boundary of the 6th — but his biggest priority has been supporting construction of a multi-billion dollar gas centrifuge uranium enrichment plant at Piketon.

In the annual appropriations process, McEwen spared no rhetorical flourish in challenging critics who said the plant would be outdated when fully operational in the 1990s. In 1984, he urged Congress to avoid "incessant nay-saying and irresponsible hypothesizing" about the plant's feasibility and approve more money for it. But in June 1985, the Energy Department canceled plant construction after deciding it would be cheaper to enrich uranium with a newly-developed laser light process. The move was a severe economic blow to the 6th, although a gaseous diffusion plant at Piketon continues to enrich some uranium.

At Home: The Harsha-McEwen brand of pork-barrel politics is the stuff of which re-

elections are made. The 6th, though politically conservative, is amenable to almost anything that will help it fight economic decline.

Real estate development is McEwen's official profession, but his entire adult life revolved around politics. He was elected to the state Legislature at age 24, and directed Harsha's re-election campaign. When Harsha retired in 1980, McEwen quickly emerged as the favorite to succeed him.

Harsha remained publicly neutral in the eight-candidate GOP primary because the race included two other candidates with whom he had past political associations. But McEwen was the choice of the local GOP establishment, and, as a state legislator, the only proven winner. In the Ohio House, McEwen had gained visibility by working to get the state to dredge a flood-prone creek in his district. He also advocated abolishing the Ohio lottery.

McEwen won the primary easily, sweeping 10 of the 12 counties in the district. He had particularly good showings in Scioto County (Portsmouth) and three counties he represented in the Legislature — Clinton, Fayette, and his home base of Highland.

He enjoyed Harsha's backing in the general election and presented himself as a conservative protégé of the incumbent. Also, he had campaign treasury about twice as large as that of Democrat Ted Strickland, a minister who had a Ph.D. in psychology and counseling. Democratic leaders tried to get a stronger candidate, but prominent Democrats in the district, such as state House Speaker Vernal Riffe Jr., were not interested.

Redistricting added to the diversity of the 6th, pushing it northwestward. But against an underfunded Democratic challenger in 1984, McEwen had no trouble. He coasted to a third term in 1984.

Bob McEwen, R-Ohio

Ohio 6

The 6th is a mixture of suburbia and Appalachia. Republican majorities in the Cincinnati and Dayton suburbs and the countryside nearby enable the GOP to win most elections. But when the Democrats run well in Appalachia, as they occasionally do, the outcome can be close.

Nearly one-third of the voters in the 6th live in a suburban sector between Cincinnati and Dayton, part of which was gained in redistricting. The new territory, which lies north of Interstate 71, the major Cincinnati-to-Columbus artery, is Republican. It grew rapidly in the 1970s as the result of commercial development, and managed to hold its own even through the 1982 recession.

Immediately east is rural Republican country. Clinton and Highland counties and the southern portion of Fayette County lie on the outer fringe of the Corn Belt.

Farther east the land is poorer and GOP strength begins to diminish. When one enters Adams County, one is in Appalachia.

South Central —
Portsmouth; Chillicothe

Adams, Pike and Vinton counties are three of the four poorest in Ohio. In January 1985, with 23.8 percent, Adams had the highest unemployment rate in the state.

Nearly one-half the land area of this Appalachian portion of the district is enclosed in the Wayne National Forest. What little industry exists is concentrated in Portsmouth (pop. 25,943) and Chillicothe (pop. 23,420).

While steel and bricks have been linchpins of Portsmouth's economy throughout the century, the largest employer in the district is the nearby uranium enrichment facility owned by the Atomic Energy Commission and operated by Goodyear. In Chillicothe, 44 miles due north of Portsmouth, nearby forests support a large paper plant.

Population: 514,895. White 501,745 (97%), Black 10,499 (2%). Spanish origin 2,531 (1%). 18 and over 359,641 (70%), 65 and over 56,017 (11%). Median age: 30.

Committees

Public Works and Transportation (8th of 19 Republicans)
Investigations and Oversight; Surface Transportation; Water Resources.

Select Intelligence (6th of 6 Republicans)
Legislation.

Veterans' Affairs (5th of 14 Republicans)
Education, Training and Employment (ranking); Hospitals and Health Care.

Elections

1984 General
Bob McEwen (R) 150,101 (74%)
Bob Smith (D) 52,727 (26%)

1982 General
Bob McEwen (R) 92,135 (59%)
Lynn Grimshaw (D) 63,435 (41%)

Previous Winning Percentage: 1980 (55%)

District Vote For President

1984		1980		1976	
D	78,809 (37%)	D	61,496 (38%)	D	85,675 (48%)
R	132,582 (62%)	R	93,577 (57%)	R	91,021 (51%)
		I	6,356 (4%)		

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1984			
McEwen (R)	\$123,206	\$72,951 (59%)	\$117,506

1982

	1982	1980	1976
McEwen (R)	\$143,861	\$68,725 (48%)	\$143,149
Grimshaw (D)	\$80,341	\$13,200 (16%)	\$79,786

Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1984	60	29	81	9	88	5
1983	72	28	82	13	87	9
1982	58	34	77	18	77	18
1981	76	24	90	8	91	7

S - Support

O - Opposition

Key Votes

Raise Social Security retirement age to 67 (1983)	Y
Bar covert U.S. aid to Nicaragua (1983)	N
Reduce dairy price supports (1983)	N
Pass Equal Rights Amendment (1983)	N
Freeze physicians' fees under Medicare (1984)	Y
Bar aid to anti-Sandinista forces in Nicaragua (1984)	N
Pass bill to revise immigration laws (1984)	Y
Cut education spending (1984)	Y
Authorize procurement of 21 MX missiles (1985)	Y

Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1984	5	100	15	71
1983	15	85	12	85
1982	30	77	30	86
1981	0	83	20	89

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Louisiana - 1st District

1 Bob Livingston (R)

Of Metairie — Elected 1977

Born: April 30, 1943, Colorado Springs, Colo.

Education: Tulane U., B.A. 1967; J.D. 1968.

Military Career: Navy, 1961-63.

Occupation: Lawyer.

Family: Wife, Bonnie Robichaux; four children.

Religion: Episcopalian.

Political Career: Republican nominee for U.S. House, 1976.

Capitol Office: 2437 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-3015.



In Washington: A former federal prosecutor, Livingston brings an adversary style to the normally placid House Appropriations Committee, where he likes to indict Democrats for what he sees as a policy of appeasement toward leftists in Latin America. Livingston can be counted on in committee or on the floor for a militant speech defending Reagan policies in the region.

In early 1985, when the House debated whether to send aid to the anti-government "contra" rebels in Nicaragua, Livingston ridiculed fellow House members who he said were duped by the leftist Sandinista regime on visits to the country. He talked about "well-intentioned American citizens trooping down to Nicaragua and all around the Nicaraguan countryside at subsidized air fares and subsidized hotel rates paid for by the Sandinista government." Then he quoted Lenin, and said the Sandinistas were pursuing Lenin's policies of international revolution.

Livingston argued vehemently that the contras were democratic freedom fighters, not former allies of ousted dictator Anastasio Somoza, as alleged by many Democrats. But the House turned down Reagan's request for military aid to the contra forces.

In the previous Congress, Livingston had argued just as militantly in favor of U.S. help to the anti-communist government of El Salvador in its battle with leftist rebels in that country. Livingston observed the 1982 elections in El Salvador, and returned more convinced than ever of the need for American involvement. "If we in the United States subsequently listen to those who would have us pull out altogether," Livingston said when he returned, "... then we would be doing a great disservice to the people of El Salvador and to ourselves."

Livingston's preoccupation with foreign policy began in 1981, when he joined Appropri-

ations and its foreign aid subcommittee after several years of focusing on Louisiana water projects and congressional ethics matters.

It seemed an odd switch, since Livingston had previously opposed nearly all forms of foreign aid. But with a Republican in the White House, he quickly became convinced of the need for aid as an instrument of foreign policy.

Like Reagan, he prefers a tilt toward military aid, but has been willing to accept some economic spending as well. He was one of only three Republicans on his subcommittee to back Reagan's 1981 request for \$850 million for the International Development Association, an arm of the World Bank that gives loans to the poorest nations. In 1982 he was on the losing end when his subcommittee voted to deny Reagan \$301.5 million for military aid.

In 1984 he opposed a suggested 2 percent cut in all aid to countries other than Israel and Egypt, complaining that the cut would result in a disproportionate reduction in assistance to Central America. No foreign aid appropriation bill reached the House floor that year, but Livingston did vote for an \$11 billion foreign aid authorization.

On his other Appropriations subcommittee, Labor-Health and Human Services, Livingston has followed a more traditional cost-cutting line, at least for projects that do not benefit Louisiana. In the winter of 1982, when states were complaining that they had exhausted their low-income energy assistance funds, he opposed the additional \$123 million the subcommittee wanted to give, arguing that states could transfer money from social services block grants if they were running out.

Earlier in his career, Livingston was a congressional ethics specialist, spending much of his time on business before the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct.

Bob Livingston, R-La.

Louisiana 1

The Louisiana redistricting plan signed into law in 1983 stripped the 1st almost entirely of its New Orleans portions, turning it into a largely suburban and decidedly conservative constituency. Only the wealthy Lakeview section of the city is left in the district.

The heart of the 1st is now the heavily populated northern half of Jefferson Parish. Known for decades as the "Free State of Jefferson" because of its tolerance for casinos, slot machines and cock fights, the parish has undergone a whitewashing in the public mind as suburbanization has cleaned it up. Gambling in recent years has been restricted to horse races.

The populous east bank of Jefferson Parish is more white-collar, affluent and Republican than the areas on the west bank of the Mississippi. Elegant homes are concentrated near the shore of Lake Pontchartrain, in communities like Metairie, New Orleans' original suburb.

The west bank tends to be blue-collar, although its voters like Livingston's conservative orientation on defense and foreign policy issues. Shipbuilding and offshore oil supply companies line the Harvey Canal on the west bank. At Avondale is one of the largest shipyards in the country, the district's largest employer. Hard times in the maritime industry have forced it to rely almost entirely on Navy contracts for sur-

He proved one of the harsher members of the committee, arguing strongly for the expulsion of Pennsylvania Democrat Michael "Ozzie" Myers in an Abscam bribery case and for censure of Charles H. Wilson, the California Democrat accused of several kickback charges.

Livingston also spent two terms on a pair of committees more important to his district, Public Works and Merchant Marine.

On the Public Works Water Resources Subcommittee, he looked out for the flood control interests of his frequently threatened lowland district. On Merchant Marine, he supported a resolution increasing the tariff on imported shrimp, reflecting local fishing interests.

Livingston has not lost interest in public works projects; he lobbied to ensure funding in

Southeast Jefferson Parish

vival. Many ship workers live in Gretna and Westwego, the most populous towns on the west bank. Both border railheads; neither has shown much growth in recent years.

From Jefferson Parish, the 1st takes some 25 miles across Lake Pontchartrain to take in St. Tammany Parish — which Livingston considered so important to his district that he threatened to run for the U.S. Senate in 1984 if the Legislature removed him from the 1st. St. Tammany Parish is a booming suburban haven. Once an isolated vacation area for residents escaping the heat and humidity of New Orleans, it has become a popular home for New Orleans oil executives.

During the last decade St. Tammany showed a 74 percent population increase, the largest of any parish in the state. Many of the newcomers are transplants from the East and Midwest who have maintained Republican voting habits. St. Tammany gave Ronald Reagan 76 percent of the vote in the 1984 presidential contest, his second best showing in Louisiana.

Population: 525,883. White 457,630 (87%), Black 58,073 (11%), Asian and Pacific Islander 4,773 (1%). Spanish origin 22,817 (4%). 18 and over 367,724 (70%), 65 and over 43,197 (8%). Median age: 29.

the 1984 water projects bill for a flood control installation along the Pearl River in his district just north of New Orleans. "Were it not for flood control projects," he said, "south Louisiana might have ceased to exist years ago."

At Home: The 1st District did not come close to electing a Republican to the House for a century after Reconstruction, but now that it has one, it seems quite satisfied. Livingston had no difficulty holding the seat he won in 1977 special election. He is accepted as a logical replacement for his famous predecessor, Democrat F. Edward Hebert.

A prosperous New Orleans lawyer, former assistant U.S. attorney and veteran party worker, Livingston made his first bid for Congress in 1976, when Hebert stepped down. But he lost narrowly to a labor-backed Democrat

state Rep. Richard A. Tonry. The result was due in part to the independent conservative candidacy of former Democratic Rep. Joe Rarick, who drew nearly 10 percent of the vote.

Livingston did not have to wait long, however, for a second try. Tonry's 1978 predecessor succeeded in pressing a vote case against him, and Tonry resigned from the House in May 1977. He sought vindication in a second Democratic primary that June, but lost to state Rep. Ron Faucheux. Tonry pleaded guilty to violations of federal campaign finance law and was sent to prison.

Livingston was ready to run again as Tonry resigned. He mounted a well-financed campaign against Faucheux that drew cant blue-collar support as well as backing from more traditional GOP voters in white areas. Spending more than \$500,000, Livingston launched an advertising blitz that won him his earlier job as a welder and devoted family man (in contrast to Faucheux, a young bachelor).

The Republican did not stress his ties in the traditionally Democratic

Committees

Appropriations (14th of 22 Republicans)
Defense.

Select Intelligence (5th of 6 Republicans)
Legislation; Program and Budget Authorization.

Elections

1984 Primary[†]

Bob Livingston (R) 86
John B. Levy (D) 14

1982 Primary[†]

Bob Livingston (R) 7
Murphy Green (I)
Suzanne Weiss (I)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1980 (88%)
1977* (51%)

* Special Election.

† In Louisiana the primary is open to candidates and a candidate wins 50% or more of the vote in the general election is held.

District Vote For President

1984
D 45,833 (22%)
R 157,865 (77%)

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs
1984		
Livingston (R)	\$341,562	\$104,883 (30%)
1982		
Livingston (R)	\$242,556	\$40,865 (17%)

Louisiana - 1st District

state Rep. Richard A. Tonry. The result was due in part to the independent conservative candidacy of former Democratic Rep. John R. Rarick, who drew nearly 10 percent of the vote.

Livingston did not have to wait long, however, for a second try. Tonry's 1976 primary opponent succeeded in pressing a vote fraud case against him, and Tonry resigned from the House in May 1977. He sought vindication in a second Democratic primary that June, but lost to state Rep. Ron Faucheux. Tonry later pleaded guilty to violations of federal campaign finance law and was sent to prison.

Livingston was ready to run again as soon as Tonry resigned. He mounted a well-financed campaign against Faucheux that drew significant blue-collar support as well as backing from more traditional GOP voters in white-collar areas. Spending more than \$500,000, Livingston launched an advertising blitz that showed him in his earlier job as a welder and as a devoted family man (in contrast to Faucheux, a young bachelor).

The Republican did not stress his party ties in the traditionally Democratic district.

Instead he emphasized his background in law enforcement and claimed that he was in the conservative mainstream that had elected Herbert to Congress for 36 years.

With organized labor refusing to support Faucheux, Livingston won easily, with no formidable Democratic challenger since.

The only threat to his House career was posed in 1981 by the Democratic Legislature, which passed a redistricting bill that would have forced Livingston to run in a substantially changed district that included large blue-collar sections of Jefferson Parish. When GOP Gov. David C. Treen threatened a veto, the Legislature backed off and gave Livingston a district in which he was able to win easily in 1982.

Court-ordered redistricting in 1983 further strengthened Livingston's position. To create a black-majority 2nd District, the Legislature shifted most of New Orleans out of the 1st. In exchange for losing those urban areas, the 1st was given the affluent "east bank" of Jefferson Parish. While much of the redrawn district was new to Livingston in 1984, he proved admirably suited to it, taking almost 90 percent.

Committees

Appropriations (14th of 22 Republicans)
Defense.

Select Intelligence (5th of 8 Republicans)
Legislation; Program and Budget Authorization.

Elections

1984 Primary†

Bob Livingston (R) 86,466 (88%)
John B. Levy (D) 7,880 (8%)

1982 Primary†

Bob Livingston (R) 76,410 (86%)
Murphy Green (I) 6,660 (8%)
Suzanne Weiss (I) 6,026 (7%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1980 (86%) 1978 (86%)
1977* (51%)

* Special Election.

† In Louisiana the primary is open to candidates of all parties. If a candidate wins 50% or more of the vote in the primary, no general election is held.

District Vote For President

1984
D 45,633 (22%)
R 157,885 (77%)

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1984			
Livingston (R)	\$341,562	\$104,863 (31%)	\$214,319
1982			
Livingston (R)	\$242,556	\$40,865 (17%)	\$138,464

Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1984	75	24	86	12	85	15
1983	77	18	76	17	85	12
1982	79	14	76	20	84	11
1981	76	21	71	20	78	17
1980	41	51	72	15	81	7
1979	23	72	80	16	80	5
1978	30	67	82	11	88	5
1977	42†	53†	80†	10†	87†	4†

S = Support O = Opposition

† Not eligible for all recorded votes. *

Key Votes

Raise Social Security retirement age to 67 (1983)	Y
Bar covert U.S. aid to Nicaragua (1983)	N
Reduce dairy price supports (1983)	Y
Pass Equal Rights Amendment (1983)	N
Freeze physicians' fees under Medicare (1984)	Y
Bar aid to anti-Sandinista forces in Nicaragua (1984)	N
Pass bill to revise immigration laws (1984)	Y
Cut education spending (1984)	Y
Authorize procurement of 21 MX missiles (1985)	Y

Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1984	5	86	15	81
1983	5	82	6	95
1982	5	100	5	82
1981	20	62	27	94
1980	11	83	5	84
1979	11	83	10	94
1978	10	82	15	82
1977	0	78	29	89

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